Nahār b. Tawsi'ah[108] recited:

We used to cry because of al-Bāhilī,
but this Ghudānī is much more evil.[109]

He also recited:

When we saw al-Bāhilī, Ibn Muslim,
acting tyrannically, we struck him on the head with a sharp sword.

Al-Farazdaq recited, recalling the battle of Wakī':

To us belongs the one who drew swords and sheathed them,
the evening of the battle of the Gate of al-Qaṣr, from Farghānah.[110]
The evening that no tribe could defend its sons
by invoking an Iraqi or Yemenite glory.
The evening that Ibn Gharrā' did not wish—when he called
out—that he had parents from a tribe other than us.
The evening that the Hawāzin of 'Āmir and Ghaṭafān
did not cover the nakedness of Ibn Dukhān.[111]
The evening that the people wished to be our slaves,
when the two armies were fighting.
They saw one mountain towering over the others,[112] when the
heads of their two leaders met, butting together.
Men for Islam who, as soon as they fought [1302]
for religion, caused it to spread in every place.
Until a herald called out from the walls of every city,
issuing the call to prayer.
But Wakī' will be rewarded in the name of the community, since he realized
its solidarity with a cutting sword and spearhead.
A reward for the deeds of men, just as a reward was given
at Badr and al-Yarmūk from the shades of Paradise.[113]

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108. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, I, 448–49, no. 95.
109. "Al-Bāhilī" refers to Qutaybah, and "Ghudānī" to Wakī'.
110. See *EI²*, s.v. Farghānā.
111. Ibn Dukhān is the nickname of Bāhilah, Qutaybah's tribe.
112. The text is *ya'lū-l-jibāl*. *Dīwān*, II, 332, has *daqqa-l-jibāl*, "They saw one mountain crushing the others."
113. See *Dīwān*, II, 331–32.

Al-Farazdaq also recited about this:

I received the news, when my saddlebags were in Medina,
about a battle waged by the family of Tamīm; it was satisfying and comforting.[114]

According to ʿAlī—Khuraym b. Abī Yaḥyā—one of his paternal uncles—shaykhs from the Ghassān: We were in the gap of al-ʿUqāb[115] when suddenly we encountered a man carrying a stick and a leather bag who looked like one of the Caliph's messengers. We asked, "Where have you come from?" He replied, "From Khurāsān." We asked, "Is there any news?" He replied, "Yes, Qutaybah b. Muslim was slain yesterday." We were amazed at his statement, and, seeing that we did not believe him, he asked, "How far shall I be from Ifrīqiyah tonight, do you think?" He set off and we followed him on our horses, but he was so fast that he disappeared at the blink of an eye.

Al-Ṭirimmāḥ[116] recited:

Had it not been for the horsemen of Madhḥij, the daughter of Madhḥij, and (the horsemen of) Azd, the army would have been discomfited and plundered
And dispersed in the lands, and nobody bringing news
about them would have returned to the army of Iraq.
The bonds of the community would have been loosened, scorn heaped on the authority of the Caliph, and illicit doings would have become permissible.
People who slew Qutaybah by violence,
while the horses were racing inclined to the ground, covered with dust.
In the meadow, the meadow of al-Ṣīn, where
the Muḍar of Iraq understood who was the noblest and greatest.
[1303] When all of Rabīʿah gave themselves up to despair,

114. Text: *aqʿadat kulla qāʾim*, literally, "It caused every standing person to sit down." See ibid., II, 310, l.4.

115. A gap in the mountains overlooking the oasis of Damascus. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 133.

116. Al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm al-Ṭāʾī was a celebrated poet of the first century of Islam. See *EI*, s.v. al-Ṭirimmāḥ; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shiʿr*, II, 585–90, no. 160.

and the Muḍar and those who claimed to belong to the
Muḍar were scattered abroad.
And the Azd of Iraq and the Madhḥij advanced
toward death, one common ancestor uniting them both.
The Qaḥṭān were smiting the head of every full-armed warrior;
they protect their eyes, but they do not see.[117]
And the Azd know that under their standard is either a
glorious sovereignty or bloody death.
For by our strength the Prophet Muḥammad triumphed,
and through us it has come to pass that the pulpit is firmly
established in Damascus.[118]

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jumānah al-Bāhilī recited:

It is as if Abū Ḥafṣ Qutaybah never led
one army to the other, and never ascended a pulpit.
And the flags did not flutter when the tribe was standing
around him, and the people never witnessed an army under
his command.
The Fates called him, so he answered his Lord
and went to Paradise, chaste and pure.
Islam did not suffer a loss—after Muḥammad—
like that of Abū Ḥafṣ. So mourn him, 'Abhar.[119]

"'Abhar" refers to an *umm walad*[120] belonging to Qutaybah.

Al-Aṣamm b. al-Ḥajjāj recited, elegizing Qutaybah:

Is it not time for the living to recognize (our distinction) for us?
Surely we are the people most deserving of praise and
glory.
We lead the Tamīm, the clients, and the Madhḥij,
the Azd, 'Abd al-Qays, and the tribe from Bakr.
We massacre whomever we wish by the power of our [1304]
sovereignty,

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117. Text: *taḥmī baṣā'irahunna idh lā tubṣiru.* See *Dīwān al-Ṭirimmāḥ*, p. 251, where the text is *wa-'alā baṣā'irihā wa-idh lā tubṣiru* "(smiting the head of every full-armed warrior) and their eyes, and so they become unable to see."

118. See *The Dīwāns of aṭ-Ṭufail and aṭ-Ṭirimmāḥ*, 147 (Arabic text), and 62 (translation).

119. See *Nakā'iḍ Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq*, I, 363.

120. An *umm walad* is a slave girl who has borne her master a child; she becomes free on the death of her master. See *EI*, s.v. Umm al-Walad.

and force whomever we wish to succumb to disgrace and
subjugation.
Sulaymān—Many are the soldiers that we rounded up for you
by our spears while our horses were riding at full speed.
Many are the impregnable fortresses that we ravaged.
And many are the lowlands and the rocky mountains.
And towns which no soldiers had raided before us,
we raided, driving the horses month after month.
Our horses became used to protracted raids, and to be quiet at
the sight of charging warriors so that they were no longer
frightened by them.
Even if the fire is kindled, and they are forced
toward the fire, they rush into the brunt of fire in war.
With their breasts they toy with spearheads and lances,
while death is surging with black waves.
With these horses we have ravaged many a city
of unbelievers, until they passed beyond the place where
the dawn breaks.
And if Fate had not hurried us, they would have carried
us beyond Dhū al-Qarnayn's wall of rock and molten
brass.[121]
But the good Banū ʿAmr met their preordained fate
when their life-span came to an end.

[1305] In this year, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Mālik dismissed Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī as governor of Mecca, replacing him with Ṭalḥah b. Dāwūd al-Ḥaḍramī.

In this year, Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Mālik raided Byzantium in a summer expedition and conquered a fortress (*ḥiṣn*) known as "Ḥiṣn ʿAwf."[122]

In this year, Qurrah b. Sharīk al-ʿAbsī, the governor of Egypt, died, in the month of Ṣafar (October 16–November 13), according to some of the biographers. Others said: Qurrah died during the

121. Text: *wa-l-qaṭri*, "and rain"; read *wa-l-qiṭri*, which means molten brass. Dhū al-Qarnayn ("the two-horned one") refers to Alexander the Great who, according to Qur'ān 18:82–98, was given power on earth. In response to an appeal from oppressed people, he built a rampart of iron and brass against the incursions of Gog and Magog. See *EI*², s.v. al-Iskandar.

122. I have not been able to identify Ḥiṣn ʿAwf.

lifetime of al-Walīd (b. 'Abd al-Malik), in the year 95/714, in the month in which al-Ḥajjāj died.[123]

In this year, the pilgrimage was led by Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī—as I was told by Aḥmad b. Thābit, on the authority of the one he mentioned—on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—on the authority of Abū Ma'shar; and the same was related by al-Wāqidī and others.

The governor of Medina in this year was Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm, and the governor of Mecca was 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd.[124]

In Iraq, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was in charge of military and religious affairs, and Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was in charge of the fiscal administration. Sufyān b. 'Abdallāh al-Kindī, serving on behalf of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, was governor of al-Baṣrah. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Udhaynah was in charge of the judiciary there. In charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah was Abū Bakr b. Abī Mūsā. Wakī' b. Abī Sūd was responsible for military affairs in Khurāsān.[125]

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123. Al-Ḥajjāj died in Ramaḍān. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf.

124. The identification of 'Abd al-'Azīz as the governor of Mecca may be a mistake. See text below, II/1314, sub anno 97, where Ṭabarī indicates that Ṭalḥah b. Dāwūd continued to serve as governor of Mecca until the year 97/715–16, at which time he was replaced by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asid.

125. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 41; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 444–45.

The Events of the Year

97

(SEPTEMBER 5, 715—AUGUST 24, 716)

Among the events taking place in this year: Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-
[1306] Malik equipped the armies and dispatched them to Constantinople. He put his son, Dāwūd b. Sulaymān, in charge of the summer campaign, which resulted in the capture of Ḥiṣn al-Mar'ah.[126]

According to al-Wāqidī, in this year Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik raided Byzantium and conquered the fortress that had previously been taken by al-Waḍḍāḥ, the leader of the Waḍḍāḥiyyah.[127]

In this year, ʿUmar[128] b. Hubayrah al-Fazārī undertook a naval expedition against Byzantium, where he spent the winter.

In this year, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr was killed in al-Andalus and Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Fihrī brought his head to Sulaymān.

In this year, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik appointed Yazīd b. al-Muhallab as governor of Khurāsān.[129]

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126. "The Woman's Fortress" was in the region of Malaṭyah. See text below, II/1335, sub anno 98.

127. The Waḍḍāḥiyyah were a separate military regiment of non-Arabs, named after their commander, a Berber freedman of ʿAbd al-Malik. See Crone, *Slaves*, 38.

128. Text: ʿAmr; read ʿUmar, following the Cairo ed.

129. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 319; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 41; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 278–85; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 170.

The Appointment of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab as Governor of Khurāsān

The circumstances: When Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik became Caliph, he put Yazīd b. al-Muhallab in charge of military, religious, and fiscal affairs in Iraq.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf: Upon being given these responsibilities in Iraq, Yazīd reflected as follows: "Iraq has been ruined by al-Ḥajjāj. Today I am the hope of the people of Iraq. But if I go there and force the people to pay the tribute and punish them for nonpayment, I will have become just like al-Ḥajjāj, throwing the people into conflict and returning them to those prisons from which God had released them. On the other hand, if I do not send Sulaymān an amount equal to what was collected by al-Ḥajjāj, he will not be pleased with me." Therefore, Yazīd approached Sulaymān, saying, "I should like to bring to your attention a man who is very skillful in collecting the tribute, and whom you may want to put in charge of that function, so that you will receive it from him: Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al- [1307]
Raḥmān, a client of the Banū Tamīm." Sulaymān said to him, "We accept your suggestion." Whereupon Yazīd set off for Iraq.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī: Ṣāliḥ preceded Yazīd to Iraq, where he established himself in Wāsiṭ.[130]

According to 'Alī—'Abbād b. Ayyūb: Yazīd approached, and the troops went out to meet him. Someone said to Ṣāliḥ, "Yazīd is here, and the troops have gone out to meet him." However, he did not go out until Yazīd drew near to the city. Then Ṣāliḥ went out, wearing a tunic (*durrā'ah*)[131] and (carrying) a small, yellow mace. He was leading four hundred men from the Syrian army. He met Yazīd and traveled along with him. When Yazīd entered the city, Ṣāliḥ pointed to a house, saying, "I have emptied this house for you." Yazīd dismounted and Ṣāliḥ went to his residence.

Ṣāliḥ placed severe restraints upon Yazīd, refusing to transfer any money to him. Yazīd prepared one thousand tables to feed his

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130. Wāsiṭ was built by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf in 83–84/702–3 and served as the capital of Iraq for most of the Umayyad period; the city was called "Wāsiṭ" (middle) because it was equidistant between al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah. See *EI*, s.v. Wāsiṭ.

131. See Dozy, *Vêtements*, 177–81.